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Integrating women's rights
into social movements in
Phnom Penh, Cambodia:

Challenges, opportunities
and effectiveness



This briefing was written by Rachel Noble and Daphne Jayasinghe of ActionAid UK based on research conducted by Ingrid Quinn¹, with the support and guidance of Caroline McCausland, Boramey Hun and Putheavy Ol of ActionAid Cambodia. Additional input gratefully received from Kate Carroll and Ramona Vijayarasa of ActionAid International.

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Over 1200 people came together at the Olympic Stadium in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, for the launch of the Safe Cities for Women Campaign to end violence against women in public spaces.

Photo: ActionAid

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PART 1. Introducing the research

1.1 Executive summary

Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression, or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands.² Social movements which treat the protection, promotion and fulfilment of women's rights as their core political agenda can be described as 'women's movements'.³ This study reflects on how women's movements and wider social movements (i.e. without an explicit women's rights focus) are pursuing and fulfilling women's rights. It seeks to explore the challenges, opportunities and effectiveness of seeking to integrate women's rights across wider social movements as a strategy for achieving gender justice and transformative social change.

Following the introduction and context setting in Part 1, Part 2 of the briefing presents an assessment of the challenges, opportunities and effectiveness of seeking to integrate women's rights into social justice movements in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. It draws on the available literature as well as feedback from a sample of social movement organisations in Phnom Penh working within three thematic areas: women's rights; labour rights (specifically the garment and beer promoters sector); and urban land rights.

Part 2 begins with an analysis of the diverse women's movement in Cambodia. This is largely comprised of women's organisations, networks, associations and NGOs pursuing the achievement of women's rights along various thematic lines, thereby reflecting differing priorities, agendas, positions of power, and access to social, political and economic resources.

The challenges to integrating women's rights across the women's movement, as well as within wider social movements, include structural barriers to gender equality that persist in wider society, such as discriminatory gender norms that denigrate women's leadership abilities and ascribe women as primarily responsible for domestic work, thereby placing limits

on women's time. Other challenges are more specific to the ways in which the movements themselves operate, such as gender-blind agendas, and leadership structures based on systems of patronage that traditionally exclude women.

Notwithstanding these challenges, it is clear that there are opportunities to strengthen efforts to embed women's rights across social movements. Such opportunities include increasing knowledge and analysis of women's rights issues, expanding support for women's leadership, and building multi-sectoral alliances at local, regional and global levels.

The briefing argues that the effectiveness of strategies to integrate women's rights into wider social movements (whether through increasing women's leadership, participation, expanding agendas or collaborations) will depend upon how these challenges and opportunities are addressed. For instance, even if a social movement has a majority female membership, or is women-led, movement policies and agendas may still be gender blind. This shows that increasing women's leadership will not automatically lead to progression of women's rights within patriarchal societies, and that to increase the effectiveness of women's movements, structural gender discrimination that prevails in wider society and institutions needs to be challenged.

In Part 3, the briefing offers a critical evaluation of ActionAid Cambodia's Safe Cities for Women Coalition (SCWC). The coalition was established in 2013 under the Safe Cities programme as a platform for collective action to address violence against women and girls (VAWG) in urban areas. Given the short time it has been in existence, this is not intended to be an evaluation of the coalition's performance. Rather, it is an assessment of the experiences of the social movement organisations in coming together to form the structure and agenda of SCWC, of how inclusive this process has been (a vital determinant to the sustainability of the coalition), and of the perceived role of ActionAid Cambodia, as a member of an INGO, within it.

ActionAid Cambodia is perceived as maintaining an inclusive, consultative approach with a clear commitment to facilitating and supporting grassroots organisations and agendas. Decision-making on the establishment and structure of the coalition was the result of a well-facilitated and consultative process. Respondents stated that coalition effectiveness is reflected in five key areas: the power of collective action; insights and information sharing; multi-sectoral approaches; capacity strengthening; and access to global campaign platforms. However, coalition members suggested the need to collectively develop a clear mandate, and to foster long-term alliance-building and mutual trust.

Finally, in Part 4 the briefing offers some recommendations on strategic, innovative approaches to enhance the integration of women's rights into wider social movements that can be used to inform ActionAid Cambodia, including its work through the SCWC, as well as programming across the wider ActionAid federation. Amongst these it is recommended that initiatives: strengthen conceptual understanding of social movements and women's rights; challenge stereotypes, institutional sexism⁴ and women's subordination through increased support for women's leadership, including a new generation of young women leaders; invest in collaborative research to strengthen strategic alliances and generate evidence to support the integration of women's rights; work with social movement organisations to strengthen/develop gender analytical skills; harmonise women's rights advocacy efforts between and across social movement organisations; strengthen and build upon existing network relationships; broaden international and regional alliances; further develop social media platforms; and identify strategic external policy entry points and opportunities.

1.2 Introduction

There is no universally accepted definition of social movements. Of the multiple definitions that exist, the following resonates with ActionAid's experience: social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands.⁵ They have been major drivers of social and political reform, shaping public and government agendas, and fostering political will to address issues.⁶ Social movements arise from the efforts of purposeful actors (individuals, organisations) to assert new public values, form new relationships rooted in those values, and mobilise the political, economic and cultural power to translate these values into action.⁷ They differ from interest groups in that they focus less on allocating goods than on redefining them – not only on winning the game, but also changing the rules.⁸

The feminist scholar and activist Srilatha Battiwala defines social movements as, 'an organised set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change through collective action'. She suggests that social movements share the following distinguishing characteristics:⁹

- **A constituency base or membership that is mobilised and collectivised**
- **Members collectivised in either formal or informal organisations**
- **Some continuity over time i.e., a spontaneous uprising or campaign may not be a movement in itself, though it may lead to one**
- **A clear political agenda, i.e. the constituency has a shared analysis of the social / structural conditions that have disempowered them, and the changes they seek to make in these structures**
- **Collective actions and activities in pursuit of the movement's political goals**
- **Use a variety of actions and strategies from confrontational, militant actions (including violent protests), or peaceful protest / non-cooperation, public opinion building or advocacy strategies**
- **Clear internal or external targets they will engage in the change process**

Social movements focus on a range of issues, including economic justice. This is defined in the Feminist Declaration for Post-2015 as:

The redressing of structural economic inequalities between peoples, states and international governance institutions from local to global level, based on a transformation of power relations, and resulting in sustained peace, equality, autonomy of peoples, and preservation of our planet. The attainment of economic justice requires economic models and development approaches that are firmly rooted in principles of human rights and environmental sustainability. Such a transformational shift requires the redistribution of unequal and unfair burdens on women and girls in sustaining societal wellbeing and economies, intensified in times of violence and conflict, as well as during economic and ecological crises.¹⁰

Globally, there are calls for an end to gendered injustice in all domains of social, economic, political and cultural life.¹¹ Social movements led by feminist, women's and gender justice activists have been pivotal in demanding, making and sustaining these changes.¹² This includes in urban settings, in which poor women (and men) typically depend upon a cash economy, with limited access to paid work, while enduring poor working conditions, social and workplace discrimination, inadequate living conditions, poor infrastructure and services, and a lack of legal and political safeguards and rights. However, while women's rights and gender justice are 'on the agenda' in many movement sectors, evidence shows that activists can encounter strong resistance to changing gendered politics and practices within movements, which can themselves reflect and perpetuate the structural gender discrimination of wider society. For example, arguments can be made that because women are active in movements, gender equality is already being addressed, or that targeted actions on women's rights are not necessary because the movement is already about democracy or inclusion.¹³

Recognition among social movement actors of the gendered dimensions of movement agendas or activities may not be explicit at the outset. As such, movements may not self-identify as being part of a

'women's movement'.¹⁴ However, scholars argue that what matters is that the movement responds to the concerns of women.¹⁵ For the purpose of this study, the terms 'women's movements', 'women's organisations' and 'women's rights movement' are used to describe movements and organisations with a political agenda to defend and promote women's human rights and which may or may not identify as feminist.

Social movements, including the women's movement, may be comprised of a range of actors, including activists and mobilised citizens, women's organisations, networks, coalitions, or associations. These may range from more formalised organisations, such as NGOs, to more informal grassroots collectives. As such, they are dynamic, contested spaces that respond to changing external environments.¹⁶

Progressive women's movements are defined as movements united around challenging gender injustices in society with a view to ending patriarchal domination.¹⁷ Women's organisations and movements may focus on a set of gender-specific issues, such as VAWG or gender-based discrimination in the workplace, or frame their agendas more broadly as struggles against all forms of gendered oppression.

While social movements vary in their outlook and methods, commonalities exist in how they respond to issues of gender equality and women's rights. According to Jessica Horn (2013), a 'gender-just' movement adheres to the following characteristics:¹⁸

- **Affirms the importance of tackling gender inequality and patriarchal power as an integral component of justice for all and names this as an explicit priority for action**
- **Creates a positive environment for internal reflection and action on women's rights and gender justice**
- **Provides active and formalised support for women's participation and leadership in all areas of movement practice**
- **Consistently tackles gender-based violence and establishes zero tolerance for sexual harassment in movement spaces**
- **Assesses gender bias in movement roles and redistributes labour along gender just lines**
- **Enables full participation of both women and men, taking into account care work and reproductive roles**

- **Appreciates the gender dimensions of backlash and external opposition faced by activists**
- **Engages with norms and notions around gender, taking into account context-specific gender identities, trans and intersex identities, and shifting understandings of gender in social life and activism.**

Social movement building is critical to ActionAid's approach to addressing the structural causes of poverty and realising women's and men's human rights, both at country and international level. For instance, movement building features as explicit objectives in the Safe Cities Global Programme Framework as well as the Tax Power Multi Country Campaign. Movement building related activities include engaging in partnerships or collaborations with existing social movements (e.g. those working on women's rights, LGBTI rights, food sovereignty, and tax justice). Movement building is also pursued through ActionAid's human-rights based programming approach, which aims to collectively sensitise poor women and men to their rights, and support their mass empowerment and mobilisation in order to hold power-holders to account. The need to take a 'multi-sectoral approach', e.g. engaging social movements and stakeholders beyond the '*women's rights community*', has been identified by ActionAid as strategy for enhancing leverage and increasing the potential impact of collective efforts for social change.

This study sets out to explore some of the challenges and opportunities of integrating women's rights into wider social movements in Cambodia - whether through increasing women's leadership and participation, broadening agendas, or collaborations – in the context of ActionAid Cambodia's Safe Cities programme. It also reflects critically on assumptions around the effectiveness of such approaches to achieving transformative change. With its diverse membership, the evaluation of ActionAid Cambodia's recently formed Safe Cities for Women Coalition¹⁹ offers a means to ground and further explore some of these challenges and opportunities, and to critically examine the role of ActionAid Cambodia as an INGO in the process, from the perspective of coalition members.

1.3 The Cambodian context

Cambodia has faced monumental challenges since the decimation of its population and social and economic infrastructure by the Khmer Rouge regime in the 1970s. A painstaking recovery was hindered by an international embargo and isolation. The first democratic elections were held in 1993, although tensions between the two power-sharing parties, the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) of Hun Sen and the Royalist FUNCINPEC party, erupted into violence in 1997, leading to the ousting of FUNCINPEC.²⁰ Meanwhile, armed conflict with the Khmer Rouge continued until 1998.

Elections in July 2013 saw the CPP and Hun Sen – in power since 1985 - claim victory once again. The opposition Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP) alleged widespread irregularities, leading to mass protests and a violent crackdown by state authorities.

Despite this challenging political context, there have been considerable advances and maturing of industrial relations in some sectors, although freedom of association and rights to collective bargaining remain significant challenges.²¹ Concerns remain about the independence of the country's legal and judicial processes. Throughout Cambodia, poor communities continue to be subjected to illegal land grabbing and forced evictions.²²

Cambodia has been increasingly liberalising and deregulating its economy in a bid to stimulate economic growth through exports and foreign investment.²³ The Cambodian economy is among the fastest growing in the region, driven largely by an expansion in the garment sector, construction, agriculture and tourism. Despite such notable economic progress, as well as many social development gains,²⁴ around a quarter of Cambodians still live in poverty, with inequality - particularly between urban and rural areas - on the rise.²⁵

Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, is inhabited by some 10 % of the total population.²⁶ The city's population has more than doubled since 1998, and now stands at 1.4 million.²⁷ Over 80% of the city's recent growth has been attributed to net-migration,²⁸ with young women aged between 15 and 29 comprising 33.7% of all recent urban migrants, many of whom arrive from impoverished rural areas to seek work in the garment and entertainment sectors.²⁹

In fact, Cambodia has the largest youth population in Southeast Asia: two out of every three Cambodians are under 25. According to UNDP, youth will be the country's largest asset over the next decade as an economic, social and cultural driving force.³⁰

However, such rapidly changing demographics have gender specific impacts. Women experience major rights violations as a consequence of urban insecurity. Fear and experience of violence sharply reduces women's mobility and opportunities to participate in social, political and economic life,³¹ as well as impacting on their sexual and reproductive health rights. For instance, garment sector workers - of whom 90% are women - have reported experiencing sexual harassment, rape and other forms of violence on the way from their homes to factories.³² Poor urban women also endure inadequate water, sanitation, lighting and policing, as well as overcrowding in rental areas.

The Constitution of Cambodia enshrines equal rights for women³³ and Cambodia has made important strides in advancing gender equality, particularly in terms of girls' access to education. However, considerable gaps remain, underpinned by rigid social attitudes that discriminate against and subjugate women socially, culturally, politically and economically.³⁴ Women are responsible for the majority of household work, including care of dependents and the sick, which impacts on opportunities to participate in economic and public life. Domestic violence, sexual harassment and trafficking are prevalent,³⁵ while a lack of legal awareness amongst women, as well as challenges in accessing justice and weak implementation of existing laws by authorities, combine to limit opportunities for women to seek redress and demand their rights.

PART 2. Integrating women's rights into wider social movements: key findings

2.1 Women's rights movements

Overview

Historically, women have been active in Cambodia's political, economic and social development.³⁶ The first women's movement emerged from the Cambodian nationalist movement of the 1940s and 1950s.³⁷ The first national women's organisation, the Women's Friendship Association, was established in Phnom Penh in 1958 with the goals of promoting a nationalist consciousness and supporting the newly independent Cambodian state.³⁸

In the early 1990s, the first Cambodian women's NGOs emerged, either as re-formed women's associations that had previously been attached to the Cambodian political resistance parties (i.e. Khemara), or breakaways from the state-affiliated Cambodian Women's Development Association.³⁹

Since then, a growing number of international and local NGOs have been operating in Cambodia with a focus on gender and women's rights. These have created opportunities for women to exert pressure on the state to address issues of social and political empowerment, illiteracy, trafficking, domestic violence, prostitution and HIV/AIDS.⁴⁰ Local NGOs and networks in Phnom Penh with a specific gender and women's rights focus include, for example, Gender and Development for Cambodia, Silaka, Banteay Srei, Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre, Women's Network for Unity, and United Sisterhood.

The positive contribution of such women's organisations in advancing gender equality and working to eradicate VAWG in particular can be seen in the recent creation of various national laws and policies. These include the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection of the Victims law; the Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (2008); the National Strategic Development Plan II (NSDP II) Update 2009-2013, the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) Five-Year Strategic Plan Neary Rattanak VI (2014-2018) as well as the 2nd National Action Plan to prevent Violence Against Women (NAPVAW). Organisations within the women's movement in

Cambodia undertake a range of activities in promoting gender justice, such as research, policy analysis and advocacy, training and capacity building (e.g. on women in decision making, HIV/AIDS, VAWG), and campaigning and awareness raising. This includes participation in global mobilisations, such as International Women's Day and 16 Days of Activism to end VAWG.

However, the extent to which women's organisations that may be part of the women's movement in Cambodia (including NGOs, associations and networks) apply an explicit women's rights focus that is based on an analysis of the structural causes of women's marginalisation varies. Additionally, many focus on specific thematic issues (such as VAWG) rather than women's wider social and political emancipation. Furthermore, the concepts of 'women's rights' and 'social movements' are relatively recent in Cambodia, and many women's organisations do not necessarily see themselves as part of an overarching '*women's movement*' (this point is elaborated on in the first bullet below).

Challenges - Women's Movements and the integration of women's rights

Numerous challenges were identified in the literature and by women's organisations regarding the integration and strengthening of women's rights into both wider social movements and within the women's movement itself. Some of these challenges reflect structural forms of gender discrimination that exist in wider society, such as harmful gender norms. Other challenges are more specific to the movement context, such as how to balance social movement diversity with the perceived need for greater collaboration.

- **Diversity:** There is no single 'women's rights movement' in Cambodia.⁴¹ As is the case everywhere in the world, women are not a homogenous group. The constraints and opportunities available to women - and therefore their needs and priorities - vary according to their differing and cross-cutting social identities (e.g. class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion etc). Such diversity should be respected and can be a

great source of strength. However, the challenge (and thus opportunity) is to harmonise these varied agendas into collaborative action where such action could contribute towards stronger outcomes for women's rights. As one workshop participant noted: *'There are strong women's rights movements out there but they have not come together'*.

- **Under-representation in decision-making:** Men dominate decision-making at all levels of society, including in government, the private sector⁴² as well as wider social movements. Cambodia is characterised by rigid hierarchies and patriarchal social and political structures, which ascribe gender roles and sustain stereotypes of female inadequacy. These are used to justify women's marginalisation in decision-making in any context. A strong culture of patronage further prevents opportunities for democratic, accountable and gender-inclusive power-sharing. All of this restricts opportunities for women's rights issues to be considered in decision-making and for power relations between men and women to be transformed.
- **Women's rights are perceived as women's responsibility:** Achieving gender equality and the full implementation of women's rights remains with women and women's organisations. As one respondent observed *'if women don't do it, who will'*? Currently, there is a lack of shared analysis of gender disparities within and across different social movements and sectors. Collaboration between women's organisations and other social movements is limited, while goals and agendas are disparate and sometimes competing.
- **Women's triple burden:** The competing demands of livelihood activities, public life and a disproportionate share of family responsibilities (based on entrenched gender roles that stereotype women as primary carers) prevent women from participating in social movements and taking up leadership. The absence of formal support structures and social protection (e.g. childcare services, adequate healthcare) further limit women's ability to participate.

Opportunities to strengthen and integrate women's rights

- **Alliance building:** Successful lobbying of decision-makers to increase support for women rights requires a collective strategy

and the engagement of multiple stakeholders. Respondents from women's rights organisations see an opportunity to both strengthen collaboration within the women's movement at different levels (grassroots and national) and to expand alliances across other movements (i.e. labour movement, land rights movement). The challenge is how to transform such diverse agendas into collaborative action to recognise and prioritise women's rights issues, and to harmonise women's rights advocacy efforts across social movements.

- **Identify and prioritise common issues across movements:** In seeking to transform patriarchal power relations social movements, and their activities and interventions, need to integrate gender equality as part of their analysis and theory of change.⁴³ The challenge is to support the implementation of gender analysis across different movement sectors as a first step to developing evidence-based advocacy strategies for women's rights, and to allow for the identification and prioritisation of common women's rights issues.
- **Increasing women's leadership:** Female leaders contribute to the social recognition that women can be confident and capable leaders. Women's organisations have long-term experience in developing women's leadership and are in a unique position to engage and support the development of women leaders within Phnom Penh based social movements.⁴⁴
- **New generation of feminist leadership:** Cambodia's burgeoning young population, the achievement of gender parity in education, rapid urbanisation and technology (see below) are increasing opportunities to engage a new generation of female leaders, as well as to build awareness of women's rights and the importance of gender equality among youth.
- **Social media and technology:** Social media and information communications technologies are offering new means and platforms for women to engage in social and political life. Such tools provide opportunities for network-building, campaign coordination, joint advocacy (nationally and internationally), and knowledge transfer. However, such technologies may not be available to the poorest women, so pose a risk of causing their further exclusion.
- **Men as strategic partners:** The achievement

of progressive policies that empower women and institutionalise gender equality requires the cooperation of strategic decision makers – roles that are dominated by men. There is a need to further develop strategic partnerships with men and to advocate for increased representation, leadership and participation of women in public and workplace decision-making.

2.2 Labour rights movements

Overview

Since the late 1990s, women's labour force participation in the country has increased at a faster rate than men's (largely due to the garment sector), helping to narrow the gender gap. However, gender wage gaps of up to 40% persist in some manufacturing sectors.⁴⁵

Until 1997, there was just one state-controlled trade union federation in Cambodia. The number of unions has since increased rapidly, triggered in large part by the expanding garment industry and, more recently, the growing construction, transport, hotel and tourism sectors. By 2010, there were 8 trade union confederations and 1,758 unions. The growth of unions is encouraged by NGOs, as well as by political parties who seek to use them as vehicles for mobilising support and building spheres of influence. The Cambodian labour movement includes trade federations, unions, international and local NGOs, and workers' rights organisations (e.g. Solidarity Centre), associations and networks (e.g. United Sisterhood Alliance). Affiliations with international trade union federations and organisations (such as IndustriALL and the International Labour Organisation respectively) further support the work of labour unions and other movement organisations.

Only around 1% of the total Cambodian workforce is organised into unions or associations. Nonetheless, unions are the largest civil society membership-based organisations in the country today. The labour movement is characterised by a large female constituency, particularly in the garment and entertainment industries. Around 60% of Cambodia's 500,000-strong garment workforce - 90% of whom are women - are unionised. Nonetheless, leadership roles remain dominated by men. As such, the labour movement can be said to be essentially a women's movement under male leadership.

Challenges to integrating women's rights into the labour movement

- Women's leadership and participation:** Despite comprising the majority of garment and entertainment workers and union members, discriminatory gender norms mean women are under-represented in leadership. Just 22% of unions have policies allocating leadership positions to women;⁴⁶ women occupy less than one third of leadership roles and represent 30% of bargaining team members. Efforts to support women's leadership and participation have seen limited success, while the absence of broad, affirmative action means progress has been slow. Awareness of relevant policies is also low: in a recent study, less than 25% of respondents knew of union policies allocating a proportion of leadership positions to women.⁴⁷
- Workplace discrimination & challenges to asserting rights:** Although trade unions have included issues such as equal wages, social protection and working conditions on their agendas, gender discrimination within the workforce and work place remains pervasive. A recent study found that 61% of women beer promoters experienced some form of sexual harassment in the preceding 12 months.⁴⁸ This is something the beer promoters' union the Cambodian Tourism and Service Workers Federation - CFSWF - is seeking to address. Other challenges to women in actively participating in union activities to assert their rights including limited education, low levels of rights awareness, and a climate of fear and intimidation linked to insecure employment.
- Lack of union credibility:** Reputations for corruption, ruling political party alliances, fragmentation, and personal and political rivalries, has led to a lack of credibility for unions and high levels of mistrust between them. This further limits opportunities for collaboration and to address women's rights within the labour movement.
- Gender blind approaches:** A few progressive labour movement organisations are explicitly calling for the implementation of women's rights. However, while labour movement organisations may understand how issues impact on women at a practical level, the majority are gender blind in their mandates and missions. Respondents agreed that a lack of a clear, systematic understanding of women's rights constrains opportunities to

integrate women's rights into the strategies and actions of individual organisations as well as the wider labour movement. To successfully challenge the gender status quo, social movements need to integrate such analysis, and explicitly articulate a gendered vision or approach to their political agenda.

- **Increased risk of violence to female activists:** Gender-based harassment and violence, as well as impunity for perpetrators, reinforce normative beliefs around gender roles and the 'appropriate' social order in which women do not challenge men's power. The increasingly violent response of authorities to, for instance, collective action to demand increased wages in the garment sector in December 2013/January 2014, has instilled fear amongst female activists and movement supporters, and has further constrained their active participation. According to the Cambodian Centre for Human Rights, demonstrations related to labour rights and land rights are the most frequently met with violence.⁴⁹

Opportunities to integrate women's rights into the labour movement

- **Leadership & participation:** There are a number of positive examples of women union leaders defending the rights of their members, and the implementation of gender-related structures and programs, such as women's committees, women's desks and gender sensitivity training.⁵⁰ Several major union federations have trained local union leaders, including some women - in labour law, negotiation, and dispute resolution.⁵¹ Additional 'fast track' measures could be introduced to increase the proportion of women in decision-making positions, such as fixed quotas. Furthermore, the large number of women in some sectors and related unions has the potential of fuelling the women's movement in Cambodia. As one respondent noted '*women are very active.... [they] foresee the change that would come as a result of them taking part in the movement.*'
- **Increasing understanding & strategic engagement:** Building understanding of women's rights represents an important prerequisite to strategic engagement in policy spaces to transform gendered power relations. For instance, the Ministry of Women's Affairs' five year Neary Rattanak IV National Strategic Plan 2014-2018 encompasses strategic actions on VAWG and women's economic empowerment, thus offering

labour rights movements a strategic entry point to advocate for the inclusion and implementation of women's labour rights at national level.

- **Alliance building at national and international level:** There is a growing interest regionally and internationally in the working conditions of female Cambodian garment workers and beer promoters. Cambodian unions have been forging alliances with NGOs, women's groups, human rights groups, and international union organisations to draw global attention to the issues. At the global level, the ITUC Resolution on Gender Equality provides a strategic framework for the integration of gender equality within the labour movement, including through the development and strengthening of national, regional and international alliances between private and public sectors.

2.3 Land rights movements

Overview

Some 85,000 people have been forcibly evicted in the last 10 years, making forced evictions one of Cambodia's most pervasive and pressing human rights problems. Currently, more than 150,000 Cambodians are estimated to be living under the threat of forced eviction, including approximately 70,000 people in Phnom Penh. The Cambodian constitution guarantees the right to adequate housing and the 2001 Land Law provides protection against the arbitrary expropriation of property. However, weak rule of law and a lack of formal property titles amongst urban poor households mean land and housing rights are commonly flouted.

In Phnom Penh, the disproportionate impact of forced evictions on women has – with the support of a local NGO, the Housing Rights Task Force (HRTF) - led them to the forefront of the urban land rights struggle. Despite a number of challenges (outlined below), women leading the urban land rights movement in Phnom Penh have succeeded in their demands to obtain land titles for their communities (e.g. Borei Keila and Boeung Kak Lake). Women activists continue to work with affected communities in other provinces to share their experiences, strengthen grassroots advocacy efforts and campaign on behalf of other affected communities.

Challenges to integrating women's

rights in the Land Rights Movement and Women's Rights

- **Violence and excessive force:** Movement leaders, women activists and their families face the constant threat of arrest and are subject to ongoing harassment by authorities. Reports suggest that excessive force by state security forces used has resulted in injuries, paralysis and death of demonstrators. According to the Cambodian Centre for Human Rights, female demonstrators have reportedly suffered miscarriages after attacks by security forces. Such state-sponsored VAWG reinforces cultures of fear and the subjugation of women and their bodies, and negatively impacts on women's participation.
- **Access to justice:** Women activists face significant barriers in trying to access justice through state and judicial institutions, with the law and the courts often co-opted as mechanisms to silence rights defenders. For example, in May 2012, 13 Boeung Kak Lake women activists were arbitrarily arrested and convicted of obstructing public traffic and received a maximum sentence of one year in prison and a \$500 fine. In January 2015, following an appeal hearing, the Court of Appeal upheld the wrongful convictions and sentences originally imposed by the Phnom Penh Municipal Court, albeit partially reducing some of the sentences and fines.
- **Personal costs & excessive demands:** Female leaders of the urban land rights movement (self-described 'housewives') were perceived to have more time to participate in advocacy, training and demonstrations, and to be at less risk of violence than their husbands and male activists.⁵² However, participants articulated the significant demands on female activists, including the triple burden of work, family and community responsibilities combining with further demands on them as activists, and the significant impact on their livelihoods, health and family life that this can have. It is also clear they remain subject to excessive VAWG by the state. Furthermore, women activists experience significant personal hardship if their struggles fail, with adverse impacts on their own and their families' housing situation, livelihoods and mental and physical well-being, as well as the breakdown of communities.
- **Gender neutral/gender blind agendas:** The active

inclusion of women as members and leaders of a social movement does not guarantee a willingness to consider women's specific strategic needs or collective concerns.⁵³ Land rights are framed in gender-neutral/gender-blind terms, with limited recognition by movements of the ways in which access to housing, security, land titles, water, sanitation and electricity disproportionately impact on women. The formulation of a strategic approach to addressing women's rights within the land rights movement requires a clear gendered analysis of land rights issues and their impacts.

- **Identity-led movement:** Given the prominent profiles of women leaders in Phnom Penh's urban land rights movement, it could be described as an '*identity-led movement*', with leaders existing as its '*face*'. While such strong female leadership was seen to encourage other women to join the movement, it also creates a risk that the movement becomes narrowly identified with, or conflated with the personalities of a few individuals.

Opportunities to integrate women's rights into the land rights movement

- **Replicate successful women's leadership initiatives:** A deliberate decision by local NGO HRTF and women in affected communities led to the dedicated development of women's leadership capacity. Thus, the urban land rights movement has successfully established women as both leaders and participants, thereby challenging the gender status quo. The opportunity exists to share lessons and replicate approaches across other movements.
- **Offer technical support in gender analysis to the land rights movement:** There are opportunities to offer technical support to the land rights movement to integrate a gendered analysis of land rights issues and to develop appropriate, transformative strategies and actions to counter gender discrimination and promote women's rights based upon these.
- **Strengthen cross-sectoral alliances:** This could include, for instance, building alliances between women activists across different urban social movements as a first step to developing cross-sectoral women's rights advocacy strategies. ActionAid Cambodia's Safe Cities for Woman Coalition (discussed below) could offer a forum for this.

2.4 Effectiveness

The research sought to test assumptions around the effectiveness of integrating women's rights into wider social movements in Phnom Penh, whether by promoting women's participation and leadership, expanding agendas, or collaborations with wider movements.

Effectiveness must be considered in the context of the challenges and opportunities outlined above, and can only be measured through progress towards clearly defined goals, which are often lacking. However, there are several examples of social movement organisations contributing towards the realisation of women's rights through specific strategies, some which are mentioned below.

Effectiveness via promoting women's leadership & participation

Increasing women's meaningful leadership and participation, so that they can be agents for change, is vital to ensuring the integration of women's rights into social movement activities and agendas. Over the last two decades, women's organisations in Cambodia have led the way in challenging patriarchal structures, practices and policies, achieving significant gains for women's rights. In wider social movements however, though there has been some progress, the effectiveness of such efforts are limited by prevailing negative stereotypes around women's leadership capacities, excessive demands on women's time, gender-blind movement agendas (even where leaders are women or the vast majority of movement members are women), insecure working conditions, and state-sponsored violence that inhibit women from participating and leading to claim their rights.

Women leaders, particularly at community level, often face prejudice and discrimination, including from their peers, as illustrated by these anonymous comments from two research respondents:

"... Women are shy and they are afraid to give their opinion. In taking part in major movement, women fear in taking part. Women [are] not articulating the challenges and issues they face..."

"...the women group I work with have low education, they only care about feeding family and children. They don't prioritise being part of any social movement."

They also face discrimination from the authorities they seek to engage and influence:

"Attempts to negotiate with the Municipality by our female community committee president have been ignored because she is a woman."

Male NGO community organiser

On the other hand, as reflected upon above, local NGO efforts to build women's leadership in the urban land rights movement has gained these women national and international support,⁵⁴ further challenging negative stereotypes about women and their potential contributions and encouraging women's increased participation.

"The authorities didn't think anything of these woman until they witnessed the [public] reaction. I think [the authorities] then realised they were dealing with a force'. It was never like this before..."

Male Land Rights Activist, NGO on Boeung Kak Lake Community Leaders

"...I work with sex workers who have low education and low wage but their motivation [spirit is high] in joining the social movement."

The value and recognition placed on women's increased participation is reflected in the following respondent observations:

"Women know what they need because it's their lived reality - we want to promote genuine women's leadership within unions not women as figureheads. "

Female union federation leader

"I have taken part in major movement... I have seen women taking part . They take part and they lead..."

Respondents articulated examples of progressive efforts to address social constraints/norms limiting women's participation. For instance, one union holds meetings with the families of female union election candidates in an attempt to gain their support and promote understanding of the importance of women's participation.

Effectiveness via expanding agendas

Gender-blind social movement agendas and over-representation of men in decision-making means there is a failure to recognise the structural disadvantages and deeply entrenched gender attitudes that limit women, and for these to be addressed through movement agendas.

Building women's critical understanding of their rights and strategies (and thus agency) to claim them is essential to ensuring movement agendas are gender-inclusive. Indeed, gender analysis and action often begins in wider social movements when women activists start to question why they are being excluded from movement visions and leadership.⁵⁵ More broadly, the formulation of strategic approaches to addressing women's rights within social movements requires a clear gendered analysis of the issues and how they specifically impact upon women, as reflected in the following comment from a female labour rights programme worker for an NGO:

"Violations of labour rights have a disproportionate impact on women."

On the other hand, respondents noted a positive shift in women's awareness of and confidence to demand their rights. This was attributed to three main factors: community-level and local NGO training; increased access to information via mobile technology, and the success of the opposition CNRP party in the July 2013 election, creating the realisation that social change is possible.

Effectiveness via increased collaborations

It is suggested that women's groups and social movements that gain their power from critical mass can form a symbiotic relationship beneficial to both.⁵⁶ Collaboration, at both national and international level and across sectors, including the media, can facilitate increased momentum and lead to women's rights and demands being met.⁵⁷

For instance, the mobilisation of worker organisations (including women-focused) and unions led to a minimum wage increase for garment workers, supported by strong national and international media coverage. Similarly, a wage increase for beer promoters was achieved following strike action and local campaigns supported by international federations that targeted global beer brands.

"We recognise that collaboration between formal networks/coalitions and informal networks, such as community groups, enables all of us to advocate from a common platform... and recognise that we can only achieve common goals together."

Male human rights activist

The integration of women's rights through increased collaborations with wider social movements requires the development of a clear understanding of women's rights issues and the specific challenges faced in realising these within each sector (labour rights, land rights etc). The INGO sector is credited to a large extent with developing social movement organisation and government capacity on women's rights, contributing to various government gender equality policies, plans and programmes of recent years.

However, the relationship between women's organisations and wider social movements is ambiguous. Many social movement organisations, including women's rights organisations, do not necessarily identify as being participants in a 'social movement'. Nor is the concept of social movements, or the idea of integrating women's rights within them, well understood. Furthermore, women's movements and other social movements are not homogenous, but are skewed with power relations, competing priorities and agendas, and differing access to social, political and economic capital. It was noted by some participants that 'middle class/educated' women are at the forefront of social movements. However, the field research findings suggest that the reality of women's leadership within social movements is more diverse, with women from different socio-economic backgrounds working to progress the rights of women, for example in the areas of sex worker rights and land rights. The challenge is to transform the diverse agendas into collaborative action to recognise and prioritise women's rights issues within mandates and agendas, and to harmonise women's rights advocacy efforts across social movements while recognising and respecting disparate priorities of different groups of women.

As one participant noted;

"[Collective] calls for policy change are key because they [provide the opportunity for] sustained change."

Male human rights activist

PART 3. An evaluation of ActionAid Cambodia's Safe Cities for Women Coalition

3.1 Introduction

ActionAid Cambodia has a history of working on women's rights and collaborating with social and economic justice movements, including women's organisations and trade unions. The Safe Cities for Women Coalition (SCWC) was established in 2013 as a multi-sectoral platform for collective action to address gender-based violence in urban areas under ActionAid Cambodia's Safe Cities programme. The Programme goal is to create cities where women and girls are free from the fear and experience of violence, particularly sexual violence, and can enjoy full access to public spaces and services.

Although the SCWC is extremely new, ActionAid Cambodia felt an evaluation at this early stage would be valuable in order to understand how members have experienced the process of its establishment, whether it is successfully fostering a sense of mutual trust and shared ownership (crucial to the sustainability of the coalition), and to ascertain where coalition members see ActionAid, as an INGO, as adding most value. Additionally, as the SCWC is a multi-sectoral coalition for women's rights that intends to collaborate with wider social movements, the evaluation also offers a means to begin grounding the findings and testing some of the recommendations from the research presented above (i.e. challenges, opportunities and effectiveness of integrating women's rights into wider social movements in Phnom Penh). As such, throughout 2015, ActionAid Cambodia will begin testing and implementing some of the recommendations presented in Part 4 through its activities with the SCWC. The learnings will be shared across the ActionAid federation.

The evaluation examined network effectiveness, voice and participation in shaping the agenda and activities, ways of working, and recommendations to strengthen the network. The role of ActionAid Cambodia as an INGO in this process, its perceived legitimacy, representativeness, accountability and added value, are also considered.⁵⁸ As well as the short timeframe since the coalition was established, it should also be noted that the evaluation took place before ActionAid Cambodia's Safe Cities Campaign had launched (June 2014). The methodology is provided in Annex 2.

About the Safe Cities for Women Coalition

At the time of this study, the SCWC was comprised of 16 Phnom Penh-based grassroots organisations representing a range of social movement sectors, including women's organisation, labour rights (garment workers and beer promoters), student (particularly female university students), and the media.⁵⁹ It was formed as an 'information-sharing forum and to jointly plan and deliver the Safe Cities campaign'⁶⁰ thereby contributing to Outcome 4 of ActionAid's Safe Cities for Women Global Programme Framework: 'A strengthened multi-sectoral movement to demand an end to violence against women and girls in the cities.'⁶¹

Strategies to address VAWG by working with and strengthening the SCWC include:⁶²

- **Build a common understanding of VAWG and its linkages with poverty and urbanisation**
- **Develop common plans and policy research, analysis and advocacy**
- **Create opportunities for dialogue and advocacy with government, public service providers, corporates and duty bearers**
- **Jointly develop campaign plans; keep Coalition updated on Safe Cities campaigns in other countries, seek opportunities for cross-border/international campaign and advocacy**
- **Raise Coalition profile with donors, governments, media, public and other CSOs**
- **Mobilise other groups**

3.2 Key findings

At the time of research, the coalition was in its infancy, thus it was premature to draw any accurate conclusions. Membership was diverse both in terms of members' focus areas, experience and expertise, and capacities and size. However, while respondents provided diverse opinions regarding the establishment and function of the coalition, there was strong support for its existence and it seemed that members were learning how to work together. A brief summary of the findings is given in the table below, followed by a more detailed discussion.

Table 1: Summary of opportunities & challenges for the SCWC identified by coalition members

Value added	Risks and challenges
<p>General</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power of collective action • Insights and information sharing • Specific focus, diverse approaches • Joint research and capacity building • Links to global campaign platforms • Consultative and inclusive • Grassroots agendas incorporated • Strong bilateral relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoid duplication with other networks • Define clear mandate and terms of reference • Maintain regular communication • Determine member roles and responsibilities • Ensure clarity on status and activities/plans • Develop long-term approach to relationship and building and developing strategic alliances
<p>Role of ActionAid</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of local context • Analytical skills and access to information • Technical support and capacity building • Effective coalition facilitator • Facilitate links with stakeholders and processes at national, regional and international levels • Long-term partnerships an important source of legitimacy • Commitment to grassroots agendas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence of INGOs on grassroots organising (e.g. power and legitimacy) • Strengths and limitations of INGOs within social movements needs to be acknowledged

Effectiveness

Participants recognised the power of collective action and the importance of evidenced-based advocacy. Several participants noted the important role of the network in enabling them to gain insights and share information on diverse issues that impact on both key areas addressed by the coalition and their organisational focus areas.

It was felt that the diverse experiences and expertise of member organisations was a key strength, providing the opportunity for cross-sectoral information sharing, the identification of diverse approaches to commonly addressed issues (such as gender-based violence), and the integration of multiple perspectives in campaign activities.

Coalition members noted the importance of avoiding duplication with other networks, particularly in allocating scarce resources. A mapping of existing

gender-based networks and their focus areas was suggested as a means to minimise duplications in agendas and activities.

Coalition members expressed interest in conducting joint research as a tool for evidence-based collective campaigning, providing both an opportunity to develop their capacities, as well as investigate relevant issues. Joint identification of key influencers/decision makers to support national advocacy efforts (i.e. prominent Cambodian women in leadership) was also proposed.

Voice and participation in shaping agenda and activities

ActionAid Cambodia is perceived by coalition members as maintaining an inclusive, consultative approach with a clear commitment to facilitating and supporting grassroots organisations and agendas. Most respondents felt they were able to play an

active role in voicing concerns and shaping the coalition's agenda and activities. The majority of participants acknowledged ActionAid Cambodia's strong support for grassroots organisations and its efforts to collectively mobilise as important aspects of the coalition. In particular, the coalition's focus on VAWG in public spaces grounded in the lived reality of women rightsholders was particularly valued. As one participant noted;

"We insist ActionAid Cambodia maintain its approach of consultations at grassroots level... this makes all the difference."

Conversely, a small number of participants reported a lack of clarity on the status of the coalition, its structure and mandate; for example whether it has been established for the duration of the Safe Cities programme or as a continuing network. The absence of a mandate or terms of reference was also noted by a small number of participants. This is central to gaining stakeholder buy-in, formulating a common agenda and determining member roles and responsibilities.

In some cases, limited communication between member/grassroots organisations and ACTIONAID CAMBODIA (e.g. members not receiving updates and email circulars) has led to confusion regarding the status of the network, and to a sense of exclusion amongst some. Others noted they felt excluded from the launch of the SCWC, despite having attended initial coalition meetings and indicating their interest.

Ways of working

Coalition participants indicated that decision-making on the establishment and structure of the SCWC was the result of a well-facilitated and organised consultative process. Initial network meetings were described as *'very productive'*. Several participants indicated meetings (as well as one-on-one consultations with ActionAid Cambodia) also provide a positive space for building bilateral relations with other organisations.

However, participants expressed concerns related to a *'lack of clarity regarding network partners'*, the need for facilitation of long-term relationship building (*'If you work in-depth and with commitment – need to build relationships slowly'*), and changing organisational representation between meetings, making relationship-building challenging.

Respondents noted that a joint mapping exercise would be valuable in understanding the activities, strengths and potential contribution of individual organisations to the coalition.

Role of ActionAid as an INGO

Members acknowledged the value of ActionAid Cambodia's long-term experience in Cambodia, its in-depth understanding of the context and the ability to strategically analyse social justice issues as key strengths of the coalition. ActionAid Cambodia's provision of technical support and capacity building add further perceived value to its role.

Overall, the role of ActionAid Cambodia as network facilitator was viewed positively, with its consultative, inclusive approach and long-term partnerships with some coalition members an important source of legitimacy. Furthermore, the role of ActionAid Cambodia as an INGO able to facilitate links between stakeholders at national, regional and international levels, access information and actively seek to progress campaign agendas, including those of grassroots organisations, is perceived by members as an important advantage and critical part of ActionAid Cambodia's role in the SCWC. Importantly, ActionAid Cambodia is perceived as being able to have input to and create space for influencing of national agendas, development policies and strategic plans (e.g. MoWA, NAPVAW II).

However, one participant noted the importance of acknowledging the strengths and limitations of both sets of actors within social movements, as well as the influence of INGOs on grassroots organising. This comment alludes to the risks of large, well-resourced relatively powerful INGOs appropriating grassroots agendas – perhaps driven by donor demands and fixed funding cycles that do not reflect the complex reality and non-linear nature of social change. When INGOs enter spaces traditionally occupied by social movements, questions are raised around their legitimacy to do so, and on whose behalf INGOs are claiming to speak. There is also a risk that limited funding and other resources will be diverted to INGOs away from the grassroots.⁶³ These risk factors draw attention to the need for ActionAid to undertake on-going critical reflection of its role as an INGO when engaging with social movements and movement-building activities.

PART 4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

Social movements have been major drivers of social and political reform, shaping public and government agendas, and fostering political will to address issues. Social movements led by feminist, women's and gender justice activists have been pivotal in demanding, making and sustaining the promotion and realisation of women's rights,⁶⁴ including in Cambodia. Women's organisations and social movements that gain power from critical mass can form a symbiotic relationship beneficial to both.⁶⁵ Many respondents agreed that successful lobbying of decision-makers to increase support for women rights requires a collective strategy and the engagement of multiple stakeholders. The opportunity exists to both strengthen collaboration within the women's movement at different levels (grassroots, national) and to expand alliances across other sectoral movements. The SCWC set up by ActionAid Cambodia and other coalition members offers an important space for social movements to further explore and begin this process.

However, such an undertaking will not be without challenges. These include challenges around fragmentation, discriminatory gender norms and a patriarchal political culture reflected in movement structures and women's under-representation in leadership, gender blind/neutral agendas, a lack of gendered analysis of issues and impacts, and women's triple burden of care work, paid employment, and public responsibilities, as well as the threat and use of violence against social movement activists, and women in particular. Achieving gender equality and the full implementation of women's rights largely remains with women. However, there is no 'single, homogenous *women's rights movement*',⁶⁶ and indeed part of the movement's strength can be said to emanate from its diversity. The challenge lies in how to harmonise the diverse agendas and approaches of women's organisations into collaborative action where such action could contribute towards stronger outcomes for women's rights.

Nonetheless, many opportunities to integrate women's rights into wider social movements have been identified. These include: strengthening understanding of women's rights; increased support for women leaders, including a new generation of feminist leaders as well as capitalising on Cambodia's large youth population; engaging male-decision makers as strategic partners; facilitating/building multi-sectoral alliances at local, regional and global levels; and identifying strategic entry points for cross-sectoral social movement .

The labour rights movement, with its predominantly female constituency, can be said to be essentially a women's movement under male leadership, with the potential of fuelling the women's rights movement in Cambodia.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the women at the forefront of the land rights movement are challenging stereotypes of female inadequacy in leadership. Nonetheless, the land movement's agendas remain largely gender neutral/blind, starkly highlighting the fact that women's leadership cannot automatically be taken to mean that women's rights will be addressed.

Indeed, the effectiveness of integrating women's rights into wider social movements in Phnom Penh through women's participation, leadership, expanding agendas, or collaborations, will be contingent on addressing the challenges identified and capitalising on the opportunities. An important first step would be to develop a shared understanding of strategic approaches to integrating women's rights into social movement organisations, and to identify gender specific issues and impacts within each sector.

The SCWC evaluation reflected broad support for the coalition. ActionAid Cambodia is perceived as maintaining an inclusive, consultative approach with a clear commitment to supporting grassroots organisations. Coalition effectiveness is reflected in five key areas: the power of collective action; insights and information sharing; multi-sectoral approaches; capacity strengthening; and access to global and regional campaign platforms. However, in moving forward, participants expressed the need for a clear network mandate, streamlined communication strategy, and a long-term approach to alliance building.

4.2 Recommendations

Greater strategic integration of women's rights into the agendas, mandates, activities and approaches of wider social movements, as well as individual social movement organisations, are given below. Strategies for testing and implementing some of these recommendations through Safe Cities Programme, including the activities of the SCWC, will be considered by ActionAid Cambodia and SCWC members, with learnings shared across the ActionAid federation.

- **Strengthen understanding of concepts:** 'Women's rights' and 'social movements' are relatively recent concepts in Cambodia. Social movement organisations do not necessarily identify as being part of a 'movement'. There is a need to enhance understanding and support development of strategies for women's rights integration, including by building on existing networks and support to grassroots organisations.
- **Challenge stereotypes, subordination & institutional sexism⁶⁸ through support for women's leadership:** Social movements present an opportunity to publicly challenge gender stereotypes and women's subordination through support for women's increased leadership. Initiatives could include encouraging affirmative actions (such as quotas) to increase women's leadership, particularly in labour unions.
- **New generation feminists:** Support new activist generations to continue to advance feminist and gender justice including expanding spaces for young people's leadership and analysis of youth and gender issues. This requires building on the potential of younger generations to advance gender justice within social movements' agendas.
- **Build alliances through shared, strengthened analysis:** Movements require knowledge, information and tools (such as the ILO Gender Audit) that can translate gender-responsive approaches from theory into practice. Strengthen/develop sector-specific gender analytical skills to address gender blind/neutral approaches and agendas. Invest in collaborative research and analysis to generate evidence to support the integration of women's rights.
- **Identify strategic advocacy entry points and opportunities:** VAWG in urban areas has been identified as a MoWA priority in the five-year strategic plan (Neary Rattanak IV 2014-2018) and

the 2nd National Action Plan on Violence Against Women (NAPVAW II) was launched in 2014. This provides a strategic advocacy entry point and an opportunity to harmonise advocacy efforts between and across sectors.

- **Facilitate and broaden international and regional alliances:** International and regional alliances are important sources of information, guidance and support in building campaign momentum and advocating for progressive social change. Facilitate and support local social movement organisations to develop/strengthen alliances with international and regional movements/organisations in support of women's rights.
- **Capitalise on social media:** Social media tools are facilitating new modes of activism, enabling increased opportunities for coalition-building, knowledge transfer, and public engagement and mobilisations around women's rights. Investigate strategies to further utilise social media for these ends.

Recommendations for the SCWC Network

Specific recommendations for ways to strengthen and expand the SCWC are:

- In collaboration with member organisations, facilitate the development of a clear network mandate.
- Develop an internal communication strategy to streamline SCWC communication.
- Engage members in conducting a review of existing VAWG networks in Phnom Penh to avoid duplication of advocacy efforts and identify opportunities for synergy.
- Expand support for the network through strategic engagement with existing network member alliances.
- Promote the network's unique multi-sectoral approach and experience more broadly at local and national levels, including expanding the current focus beyond VAWG in public spaces to encompass women's rights, poverty and urbanisation more broadly.
- Due to time constraints, it was not possible to validate the SCWC findings during a subsequent Validation Workshop (19 August 2014). Therefore internal workshop to validate findings and to seek member feedback is recommended.

APPENDIX I – Methodology: Integrating women's rights into wider social movements

Research design

The study design is a cross sectional qualitative assessment. A cross-sectional study is one that takes place at a single point in time. Qualitative research explores experiences, attitudes, values and practices and locates these within their social context. Typically, qualitative approaches provide in depth insight.

Research setting

The research was undertaken in Phnom Penh, Cambodia between June and August 2014.

Research Participants

- ActionAid in Cambodia staff
- Women's Movement representatives i.e. women-led organisations, women's rights coalitions/networks working on VAW, labour rights and/or urban land rights
- Social movement organisations working on labour rights and urban land rights issues
- Safe Cities For Women Coalition (SCWC) members

Final selection of research participants was determined in consultation with ActionAid Cambodia and AAUK.

Participant Selection

Interviewee selection was based on non-probability purposive sampling. This strategy has two principle aims: (a) to ensure that the key characteristics of relevance to the subject under study are covered, and (b) to ensure that within each key criterion there is diversity of respondents. Participants were selected due to their experience and/or expertise in one or more fields including women's rights (8 participants), labour rights (9 participants), and housing and land rights movements (4 participants), in urban Phnom Penh. Final selection of key stakeholders for inclusion in the research study was undertaken in consultation with ActionAid Cambodia and AAUK. Due to the limited availability of representatives from the Khmer Youth Association and IDEA, it was not possible to include them in the study. Appendix IV includes a list of organisations/stakeholders included in the research.

Efforts were made to ensure a gender-balanced representation of stakeholders/participants.

Sampling design

A combination of two qualitative sampling methods were adopted; criterion and snowball sampling. Criterion sampling encompasses all cases that meet some specified criterion; useful for comparison and quality assurance. Snowball sampling identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know cases that are information-rich.

Study Methods/Approach

Literature review

Documents included in the literature review to contextualise the field research were identified by a broad systematic internet search using a range of keywords.

Field Research

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with a total of 26 participants (20 females, 4 males and 2 transgender participants). Fifteen face-to-face semi structured interviews were conducted with social movement stakeholders: 12 female and 4 males. A semi structured interview guide was developed for this purpose and adapted and translated where as necessary. Two focus group discussions (FGD) were held, comprised of a) sex worker coalition activists/members (4 females, 2 transgender) and b) female community organisers working with garment sector workers (4 females). Simultaneous translation was used where necessary.

Research Validation Workshop

To solicit participant feedback, a workshop was conducted with research participants and SCWC members in August 2014. The purpose was to identify ways to strengthen the integration of women's rights in Phnom Penh based social movements and in order to inform the development of innovative approaches to ActionAid Cambodia programming.

Opportunities and recommendations were identified through small group exercises. In five groups, participants were asked to identify key stakeholders, strategies and actions they would engage to expand support for three types of social movements 1) women's rights, 2) labour rights and 3) land rights.

APPENDIX II – Methodology: Evaluation of the SCWC

The methodology used in the evaluation of the SCWC network was as follows:

- A review of ActionAid Cambodia SCWC documentation developed since March 2013, including core Safe Cities program documents, strategic planning framework, baseline study report, partner mapping exercises, SCWC meeting minutes, workshop reports, reflection documents and advocacy documents.
- A review of selected documents provided by member organisations related to their focus areas e.g. organisational strategies, policy documents and reports.
- Interviews with; five SCWC member organisations and ActionAid Cambodia senior staff who have had specific involvement in the establishment of the network

Documentation on the network provided by ActionAid Cambodia and semi-structured interviews with member organisations were used to assess the effectiveness/progress of the network in relation to the Safe Cities Programme Monitoring and Evaluation Framework, 2013-2018, Outcome 4 'A strengthened multi-sectoral movement to demand an end to violence against women and girls in the cities' and Intermediary Outcome 4.1: The Safe Cities for Women Coalition is strengthened to mobilise and act collectively on the issue of VAWG in the cities.

In consultation with ActionAid Cambodia, five organisations were selected for interview. Participants were selected from a list of local organisations that had attended initial ActionAid Cambodia meetings to establish the network in 2013. Interview topics included; effectiveness, participation and voice, approaches (ways of working) and recommendations as well as perceptions on the role of ActionAid Cambodia as an INGO in relation to the network. A semi-structure interview guide was developed for this purpose.

Given the small number of participants/organisations selected, findings should not be considered representative of the views of all network members/organisations. It should also be noted that the research was conducted in June 2014, prior to the July 2014 launch of the Safe Cities campaign. Findings were also tested at the validation workshop (see Annex I).

APPENDIX III – Constraints & limitations

- The research is not representative of all social movement actors in Cambodia, nor in urban Phnom Penh. The research was confined to organisations &/or networks with a strong presence in Phnom Penh and with thematic relevance to the Safe Cities program.
- A sample of participants from the SCWC were interviewed and this is not reflective of the views of all members.
- It was beyond the scope of the research to include a comprehensive review of all ActionAid in Cambodia, NGO and union activities related to the work of Phnom Penh-based social movements. Further, only documents available in English were reviewed.
- As a relatively recent phenomena, there is a dearth of available literature on social and economic justice movements in urban Cambodia.
- The research consultant is a native English speaker and does not speak Khmer. Interview questions and focus group discussions were translated from English into Khmer and Khmer into English. Defining contextual use and meanings is difficult and it is possible subtleties of meaning are lost in the translation process. Focus of the translation process was therefore on meaning rather than terminology.

APPENDIX IV – Research participants

Stakeholder Group	Institution/Organisation
Women's Rights/ SCWC	ActionAid in Cambodia
Women's Organisation/ SCWC	Banteay Srei SCWC
SCWC	Khmer Youth Association (KYA)
Land rights, women's rights	Urban Poor Women Development (UPWD)
Labour Rights/SCWC	Community Legal Education Center (CLEC)
Labour Rights/SCWC	Cambodian Tourism and Service Workers Federation (CFSWF)
SCWC	Strey Khmer
Labour rights	Cambodian Centre for Human Rights (CCHR)
Housing & Land Rights	Housing Rights Task Force (HRTF)
Labour rights	Free Trade Union of Workers of the Kingdom of Cambodia (FTUWKC)
Labour rights	Cambodian Alliance of Trade Unions (CATU)
Women's Rights	Young Women's Leadership Network
Women's Rights/SCWC	Women's Network for Unity (WNU)
Women's Rights/Labour rights	Social Action for Change (SAC)
Women's Rights/Labour rights	Women's Information Center
Women's Rights/Labour rights	Messenger Board
Labour Rights	Independent Democracy of Informal Economy Association (IDEA)
Land Rights	Boeung Kak Lake Community

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- 2 Horn, Jessica (2013), Gender and Social Justice Movements: Overview Report, Brighton: Bridge IDS.
- 3 Batliwala, S. (2012) Changing their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements (2nd Edition), Toronto, Mexico City, Cape Town: Association for Women's Rights in Development
- 4 Institutional sexism refers to an acceptance of the way that policies, cultures and practices within organisations, institutions, systems or structures (such as the justice system, the government, the media and businesses) discriminate against women based on entrenched notions that women are inferior to men. See Morris, J. & Pillinger, J. (2014) Institutional Sexism & the Safe Cities for Women Campaign (internal ActionAid report).
- 5 Horn, Jessica (2013), Gender and Social Justice Movements: Overview Report, Brighton: Bridge IDS.
- 6 Ganz, Marshall (2010), 'Leading Change, Leadership Organisation and Social Movements', in Nitin Nohria and Rakesh Khurana (ed.), Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice: A Harvard Business School Centennial Colloquium (Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing Corporation).
- 7 Rochon, Thom, Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism and Changing Values, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998 cited in Marshall Ganz 'Leading Change Leadership Organisation and Social Movements', Harvard Press, 2011.
- 8 Mario Diani, 'The Concept of Social Movement' in Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology, ed. Kate Nash (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 158-176 cited in Marshall Ganz 'Leading Change Leadership Organisation and Social Movements', Harvard Press, 2011.
- 9 Batliwala, S (2012), 'Changing their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements (2nd edition)', Association for Women's Rights in Development <http://www.awid.org/Media/Files/Changing-their-World-2nd-Ed-ENG.pdf>
- 10 Full text available at <http://ngosbeyond2014.org/articles/2014/2/23/gender-economic-social-and-ecological-justice-for-sustainabl.html>
- 11 Horn, Jessica (2013), Gender and Social Justice Movements: Overview Report, Brighton: Bridge IDS.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
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